uncle, is all that can be directly observed. This relationship is expressed by a special kind of trading. The uncle (in this case the brother of the mother) has the right to appropriate a damaged or mutilated object from the nephew. At the next opportunity the nephew compensates by taking a corresponding perfect object. Thus once a young Hottentot took home a milch cow with calf and ten goats as recompense for his mother's brother taking a horse with bad hoofs years ago. "Buskop" cattle (hornless or with loose horns), goats with stubby ears, cattle with asymmetrical horns, a skin blanket with holes, a cracked wooden pail, a stone pipe with a broken edge, etc., etc. may be appropriated by the uncle. Sometimes he looks through the entire hut of the nephew to find something like that. If his visit is a surprise, he can make a lot of good finds. Otherwise the young wife has hidden all the doubtful objects of her household in time. The nephew's right of choosing is called //nu/ri//gab, that of the uncle ǂû//gab. In none of the cases known to me did I hear any complaints of misuse of these rights. This relationship is generally based on such mutual trust that it would not be egotistically exploited. 604

The preferential position of the brother of the wife in the family is reminiscent of the old Indo-European views (84). [171]

84. B. Delbrück, Das Mutterrecht bei den Indogermanen, (Preussische Jahrbücher, Bd. LXXIX, 1895).

3. Name Giving

We have two chief groups of family names, /o-/nti, which we must differentiate if we are not to be confused by the diversity that rules here. 551 553

a) The first group might be called that of the parent names. We must first state that each Hottentot family name can be used, depending [304, Chart. Family Tree of a Topnaar Family to Show How Names are Inherited.] [305] on whether the masculine (-b or -ba) or feminine (-s or -sa) personal suffix is added, as the name for a boy or a girl.

The general rule is that the son inherits the name of the mother and the daughter that of the father as the main name. If, for example the father is called gomarib and the mother //kxunibes, the son is called

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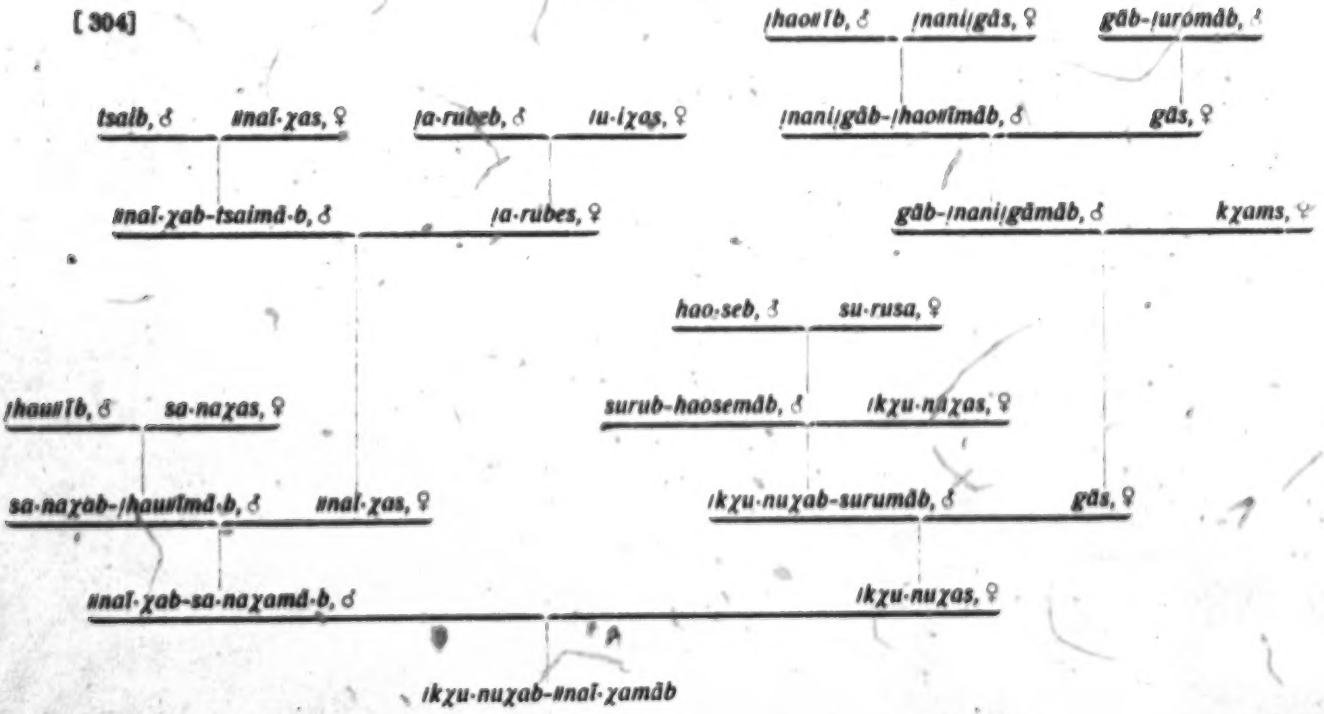
Family Tree of a Topnaar Family to Show How Names are Inherited.

[304]



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//kχũnibeb and the daughter gomaris.

The son adds a secondary name to this main name when he is grown up. The main name of the father with the insertion of the syllable -mã̄ before the final personal suffix serves as the son's secondary name. The son of the afore-mentioned parents is thus called //kχũnibeb-gomarimã̄b. (There seems to be less use made of such double names by the female sex. The daughter of the parents mentioned above would have as a full name gomaris-//kχũnibemã̄s.)

In order to convince myself that this method of name-giving is pursued consistently for several generations, I have traced back the names of a family as far as the memory of my authorities reached. I was assisted by the village elder of the Topnaar settlement in Rooibank behind Walvis Bay. The result proved the consistency of this rule of name-giving.

In everyday life there are consequences arising from the way names are inherited that could easily lead to confusion, except that, as we will see, a second group of names provides a remedy. The rule by which children receive their parents' names results first of all in full brothers having the same name and all full sisters having the same name. A simple consideration, using as an example, the last generation of the second family tree, results in the following: the same main name, /kχu·nuχab, which the brothers have, will also be the name of all their cousins that are the sons of a maternal aunt, in other words all sons of /kχu·nuχas' sisters. Different from these and differing among each other are the names of the cousins who derive from the father's and mother's brothers. The cousins that stem from the father's sisters are all called sa·naχab.

Analogous are the relationships among the sisters of the brothers /kχu·nuχab: the chief name, which they have, //nĩ·χas, is also the name of all their cousins that are the daughters of a paternal uncle, in other words, daughters of the father's brothers. The daughters of the father's sisters would all be called sa·naχas. The maternal cousins, that are the daughters of an uncle (of a brother of the /kχu·nuχas), would [306] all be called gã̄s. Differing from these and differing among each other are the names of the cousins that stem from the mother's sisters.

Although the parental names reveal the origin of the bearer to another Hottentot sufficiently so that they suffice for identification in a foreign kraal, they still do not provide enough differentiation within the

narrow bounds of the family. The names of a second group fill this gap. We will call them, 551 553

b) Nicknames.

In the simplest instance, these names are a simple characterization of the person based on an identifying mark or a fact. Thus a young Hottentot girl with thin hair on her head was called ǂgã́s, i.e. baldy, bare-headed. A young boy was called °/gu·ru//a·reb, because he was left-handed. A man who stood cold well was known by the name °!kχai·t(o)mab, as "one who is not (t(o)ma) cold (!kχai)." Another, notorious for being unpunctual, was called °!aũ·ǃ//kχui·b, "he who makes you wait (!aũǃ) in vain (//kχui·, to miss)." A feared cattle thief in lower Swakop territory was named for the color of his hair °/haiǂ̃b, the "dun horse." A peaceful old man who had planted near the water a tobacco bed that was always green (!am) was called !a·mχab etc.

Certain events are the basis of two other names: °hã·/gyeb, i.e. "he who came," because this man came to this place from far away and now lives here. A boy, whose mother died shortly after he was born, received and kept the name, by which a Hottentot designates a newborn being, whether man, lamb, or calf, that is raised on the milk of a strange woman or different mother animal: °hã·sib.

Such names can attach themselves so firmly that they become the first name of a person for all his life. It is not unlikely that such nicknames were formerly the original and only names of the Hottentots and that even today they still become main names that can be inherited and thus bring new elements into the vocabulary of parental names.

Sometimes only those closest to a person can understand the personal connection in the name of the person. Thus I have not been able to find out the references of the various nicknames of Hendrik Witbooi which I heard many times: !hu·iseb, °/gã·mab and °kχabu·b.

Some of the nicknames are terms of endearment which are only used for a certain time and then forgotten or only used occasionally. [Pictures. Plate XIII. Topnaar Boys]. [307] Thus a Hottentot woman called her little son °ǂkχa-ri!kχu·bib, i.e. "the little vlei." She wished to indicate that the sight of her child made her as happy as an expanse of water does in the dry desert. Another mother had a naive pleasure in the pretty ("clean") privates of her little daughter and therefore named it !a·nuǂnũi·s. A Hottentot child, that had Negro blood from its father's side and thus had a darker skin color, was usually called °ǂnũ·/sagyeanu·s by its mother, i.e. "you who are so sweetly black."

Occasionally the white man gets a nickname. Thus a Hottentot once remarked of a worthy missionary, remembering gratefully a good deed performed for him by this man with black mutton-chop whiskers, calling him °ǂnũ/xõgũ/õatse, "oh, thou son of a black-cheeked sheep." This was an image that is close to the shepherd and would always be considered a compliment by a Hottentot. (See illustration, p. 263). 551 553

The Hottentot's marked sense for satire expresses itself freely and happily in teasing names for his own people and for his white masters: 551 522

°//kxa·nsab was the name of a boy with a stomach that stuck out (from °//kxan, to forego evacuating the bowels); °//go·res/nõa·tso/a·b a boy with an awkward posture, "whose neck vertebra was in his buttocks"; °!ho/mxõs, i.e. the "mountain cheeks," was the name of a Negro with fat cheeks; °!kxõre·b, i.e. "bag of bones," a thin fellow; °//gaorab was the name of a dirty fellow "who tastes horrible," etc.

Boys in their adolescence with their mixture of childish and adult characteristics also evoke the mockery of a Hottentot. One such youth in his late adolescence was called °a·ru//gui·b. The word aru· means driving the young lambs away from the old animals that go to pasture, while the young ones stay by the hut. The word alludes to the childish features of the boy. //gu·i means in the language of the herdsman: a bull calf that actually should be castrated but that still has its testicles; the word alludes to the awakening manhood of the boy.

Indicative of the decline in polygamy is the fact that a man who still enjoyed this luxury was known by the name °a·mikxoma/gu·ita·raseb, i.e. as one "who has many (/gui) wives (tara.s) just as an ostrich (ami.s) has hens." [585]

The Hottentot find weak points in the bodies of the white men even more easily than in his own. A person who he thinks has too long a neck is called the "necky one," °!ao·xab; another person's [308] mustache hangs over his mouth (ams) as a dog's lips (°//ga/bu·b) over its snout and so he is called °//gabu·xaa·mi.

Another is named for the peculiar expression of his eyes for a gecko lizard of the same name, a Rachydactylus species, °!na·nigyemũ/s, another one, because of his stamping gait °!nõ·/arib, the "heel man." The Hottentots in Kubub called an especially tall man !a·batoma!nao·b, i.e. "he who does not have to climb (!a·ba) on the wagon to load it" (!na/o).

They called another !a·osa/ã·batana·s (with a feminine ending) because he lets his head (tana·s) hang loosely to one side and dangle with

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

if his explanation of the excision were correct. Most other writers, as we have already mentioned, state that the operation was performed in order to increase the swiftness of the man in running.[1]

Names

There is no record of any special naming ceremony among the Hottentots, apart from Graevenbroeck's statement that at the feast marking the end of the mother's seclusion her husband publicly asks her what name she has conferred upon the child. In general he agrees with her, while all the other people present, as Graevenbroeck naïvely puts it, praise her ingenuity, greet the child by its name, and then, after wishing both it and the parents good luck, celebrate the feast.[2] Kolb says the child's name is decided by the mother immediately after the birth, unless she is too weak to do so, when the child is named by its father. The names chosen, he adds, are those of cattle, sheep, and goats.[3]

We have already noted, however, that among the Naman, and probably this applies to all the other Hottentots as well, all sons take the name of their mother, and all daughters the name of their father, as their chief or "great" name, *gei khoi /ons*. If the father's name, e.g., is *gomarib*, and that of the mother *//khunibes* (*-b* and *-s* are the masculine and feminine sex-endings respectively), a son will be called *//khunibeb* and a daughter *gomaris*. To this name the son, when he is grown, adds another—the "great name" of his father, modified by infixing the syllable *ma* before the final gender suffix. His name now will be, in the example given, *//khunibeb-gomarimab*. The use of this additional name is less customary with women; but if found follows the same principle; hence *gomaris-//khunibemas*.

As a result of this system of naming, all own brothers will have the same name, and all own sisters will have the same name. The difficulty this involves is evaded, as we have seen, by the use of special adjectives indicating the relative order of birth. The eldest son, e.g., will be called *//khunibeb geib*, the second son */khunibeb /nagamab*, the youngest *//khunibeb /karib*, and so on, and similarly in the case of the daughters. Additional distinctions are made by means of nicknames, of which there is a great variety. Some refer to physical characteristics, others reflect some historical circumstance connected

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 58; cf. Ten Rhyne, loc. cit.; Wikar, op. cit., 98–9.
[2] Op. cit., 2.
[3] Op. cit., 68–9.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

convocatos utriusque sexus propinquos et affines, tecto suo excipit, ubi quum consedere de nomine puero indendo primò uxorem suam percunctatur, eique ut plurimum assentitur, et post illum reliqui ad unum omnes, ingenioque puerperae applaudunt, suoque nomine appellatum infantem salutant, eique et parentibus felicia precati, genethliacis celebrandis diem terunt.

Notus mihi Barbarus *Gauda* dictus (quo nomine Latinis Dama venit) quia ea die qua natus, matre ejus de cibo valdè sollicitâ, pater a venatione oneratus damis domum redibat, quorum carne esurientes convivas, nebridibusque recentem natum commodè tanquam fasciis excipiebat: hinc mater occasionem arripuit, filio *Gaudae* nomen imponendi. Alia media aestate pariens, quum Sol radiis suis terram pecusque maximè urit, adeò ut illa arescat, hocque ubera lacte siccata habeat, quamobrem puerpera, dum insuper mamillas suas exsiccatas videt, misericordia tacta, filiolae *Bithathè* nomen indidit, voce compositâ ex *Bi* quod lac, et *thathè* quod penuriam significat: appellatione valde opportunâ.

Sicubi patrifamilias res pecuaria ampla est iterum per sacrificulum victima cadit, cujus adipe infans cum matre ab ariolo vaporante circumliniuntur herbâque Bochu, pari quo dixi modo persperguntur, natalitiisque datis, maritus in unam alteramque hebdomadam se foras proripit, et nisi infans mammâ disjunctus aut lacte depulsus sit, vir cum muliere sua etiam toto anno non cubat, eaque gravida secubat: interim pellicibus aut vagae veneri litans, nam Afris his plures solent esse nuptae, quae singulae suis mapalibus separatim degunt, remque familiarem maritique jussa religiosè curant, eique certatim vultu verbisque blandiuntur, qui in binoctium trinoctiumque pro cujusque venere, gratia meritisque, mox hanc mox illam complectitur,

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H 846 553

[33]) This description (together with the following paragraph) also applies to the Hottentots. It is of course by no means complete, but is correct in suggesting that the mother is secluded for some time after the birth, and that before she leaves her hut she is ceremonially cleansed (*cf.* Schapera, *op. cit.*, 262 ff). There is no other record of a name-giving ceremony similar to that mentioned by G.

H 553

[34]) Wreede's Hottentot vocab. gives the word *k'goeda* = steenbok (Latin *capricornus*, not *dama*, which is given as the Latin equivalent of klipspringer = Hottentot *k'gogĕe*): Kolb's vocab. (said to be based on that of G.), gives Hot. *kăouda* = steenbok. (Molsbergen, op. cit., I, 222, 227).

S 834 545

[35]) This statement, although applicable to most primitive peoples, seems in the present instance not to refer to the Hotten-

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

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[846]
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553

water is according to the season of the year, hot in winter, cold in summer. Then the husband calls together his kith and kin of both sexes and receives them in his hut. When they are all seated the matter of a name for the child is broached. First he asks his wife; as a rule he expresses his agreement with her, and after him they all do likewise, praising the wit of the young mother. They then greet the child by his new name, pray for happiness for him and his parents, and pass the day in celebrating the birth.[33])

A certain native of my acquaintance has gotten the name of *Gauda* (in Latin *dama*, or buck)[34]) from the following circumstance. On the day on which he was born, his mother being very anxious about food, his father came home from the hunt laden with buck. The hungry guests were fed upon the flesh, the newborn babe was swaddled in the skins. Impressed by the timely relief, his mother improved the occasion by naming the boy *Gauda*. There is a tale of another woman who gave birth to a child in the middle of the summer, when the sun with its rays most scorches earth and cattle, so that the earth is parched and the udders of the cattle are empty of milk. The young mother, beholding her own dry breasts, was touched with pity, and gave to her daughter the name *Bithathe*, a word compounded of *Bi*, milk, and *Thathe*, lack. Surely a very happy choice of name.

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Any father who is well stocked with cattle again offers sacrifice on the occasion of a birth; the mother and babe are smeared in the fat of the victim, which is warmed by the priest; and they are sprinkled with bochu in the manner described. After the birthday feast the husband takes himself off for a week or two, and until the infant has been taken from the breast or weaned, he does not sleep again with his wife even if it be for a whole year.[35]) He always sleeps away from her when she is with child. In the meantime he goes with concubines, paying homage to a roving love, for these natives generally have several wives, each living separately in her own hut, looking after the household and scrupulously obedient to her husband's commands. They vie with one another in flattering him with word and look, and he embraces now one, now another, for a space of two nights or three, according to the passion,

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595

tota, but to be derived from the account given by the "Stavenisse" crew of the AmaXhosa. They say: "As soon as a woman is confined in childbed, her husband must stay away from the hut for 13 to 14 days, and not sleep with his wife as long as she is suckling the child, even if it be for a year. In the meantime he must console himself with his other wives" (Molsbergen, *op. cit.* iii, 64).

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Note :

These terms are used : (i) in conversation with third parties ; (ii) when a younger member of the family addresses an older one. (iii) When the older person addresses a younger one in the family, the personal name is used by that elder person. The practice in (ii) seems to be falling into disuse, to the great sorrow of my informants. On account of the method used here, the lists are not so full as they should be, e.g. the children of the mother's brother, as they do not appear in the genealogies, have not been recorded. The *Nama* family relationships and the terms denoting them have been exhaustively dealt with by Schultze (op. cit. p. 300-303) and by Mrs. Hoernlé (the Social Organisation of the Nama Hottentots, in *American Anthropology*, xxvii, p. 17-23). Cp. also Schapera (op. cit. pp. 230-233). Since our lists do not contain all the possible details, a thorough comparison of the Nama and Korana systems cannot be made here, though it can be said that the two agree with some differences in detail.

There is a further important deduction to make from our genealogical lists in connection with the giving of names. The Nama custom in this respect is well known. The sons take the mother's name, changing its final *-s* into a *-b* to make it masculine and the daughters, the father's name, making the converse change of *-b* into *-s*. Meinhof (op. cit. p. 17) has recorded, from his informant Benjamin Kats, the same exchange of names, without, however, any addition of the *-b* or *-s*. It will be gathered from a perusal of the genealogical tables of the Links Korana, that this practice does not obtain among them. On their being questioned, after the lists had been taken, they professed complete ignorance of the custom.

IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

Stone Artefacts.

Tawakhwedi na /o:hwa /khares thi heib thikha khau /hwa. //hwa ha ha kje na /hû, ina /uri //hae kx²wa ha. saob kx²ai //nâukwa na /oro //na:s. /kharedi kx²aqukwa xa tahakhwedi dibae. geida khwekwa ikje diba. //garu /uikwa ida kje di tama. sa:hwa kuikje di hwa.

Translation :

The women dig for " uintjes " with the bored-stone and the stick. In the morning they go. They return in the afternoon, in the winter, when the leaves dry off.